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**Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works**

There is hardly another Muslim Mamluk polymath of such standing who at the same time is best known as the student of someone else. Despite his own extraordinary scientific output, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (1292–1350) was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah’s (1263–1328) most famous and important student. Even centuries later, he is still primarily known and defined by his relation and service to his master, whose works he compiled and whose legal doctrines and hermeneutical and theological convictions he defended. While Ibn Taymīyah led a life characterized by conflict on several fronts, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah—with the exception of a few incidents—was a rather bookish man who preferred pious scientific endeavors to confrontations of any kind.

**Biographical Sketch**

The full name of this scholar in the shadow is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Sa’d ibn Ḥarīz ibn Makki Zayn al-Dīn al-Zur’i al-Dimashqī al-Hanbali, known as Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, or simply Ibn al-Qayyim. It is, however, wrong to say Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, since the element “Qayyim” is the first part of a genitive clause. Being in the *status constructus*, “Qayyim” takes no article.1 Nevertheless, this is a frequent mistake. The article, however, returns when one uses the short version Ibn al-Qayyim. Ibn al-Qayyim’s father, Abū Bakr, took care of the Damascene Jawzīyah madrasah, so that the term means nothing more than “son of the superintendent (*qayyim*) of the Jawzīyah.”2 There is no need to dwell in this article on the numerous other elements of his name.3 Suffice it to mention his *nisbah* al-Zur’ī

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3 Minute details concerning his names are already given in Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Ibn
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(or al-Zar‘ī), since we thereby “know that his family originated from Zar‘a in the Hawrān” (a coincidental parallel with Ibn Taymiyyah, whose family was also ousted from Harrān in that region). “Most probably they fled the Mongolian invasions in the thirteenth century,” so that his family headed to Damascus which was at that time “the major academic center of the Ḥanbalite world.” Al-Zar‘ah itself is described as “a small farming village fifty-five miles from Damascus,” though by the time of Ibn al-Qayyim’s birth the family had already moved to Damascus.

This short introduction to what is basically an overview of Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre gives only rough biographical outlines. The late medieval sources for biographical data on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah are already diligently displayed in a number of modern Arabic books on this author and are also presented in the foreword of many editions of his books. Nevertheless, a critical biography of Ibn al-Qayyim in a Western language remains to be written. Entries in the vast biographical dictionaries are quite summary; they display a lot of name-dropping, do not offer much analysis, and copy profusely from one another. Obviously Ibn al-Qayyim’s life was quite humdrum judged from the sensationalist viewpoint of biographers and historical chroniclers. Of real importance, however, are the contributions by another Hanbali legal scholar, Ibn Rajab (d. 1397), and the Shafi‘i traditionalist and historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373). These two were the most important of Ibn al-Qayyim’s pupils. Ibn Rajab is also “the last great representative of medieval Hanbalism.”


Hijāzī, Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqiṣuḥu min al-Taʃkīr al-Islāmī, 4. The work is a Ph.D. dissertation from al-Azhar University from 1947. There is a 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1972), with a revised introduction.

On such students see Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, 179–83. Another important student is the Shafi‘i scholar Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.

in later centuries certainly deserves more exploration, his rediscovery and enthusiastic propagation by modern Salafi authors also calls for closer analysis. A comparable revival and hailing by such reformers was offered not only to Ibn Taymiyyah, his co-Hanbali or the neo-Hanbali par excellence, but also, for instance, to the Maliki scholar Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388) and the Shafiʿi ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 1262). But before we can examine the ongoing interest in Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre, we need to get a better idea of the scope and variety of this reservoir beyond merely rattling off book titles. Since about the second half of the twentieth century, a considerable number of monographs written in Arabic on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah have been published. These works are often the outcome of dissertations and other academic writing from faculties of religion, shariʿah law, or literature from the Near East. Many of them are not found in Western libraries or are not even officially published. This study refers to at least some of them, but does not have the scope to fully present their major findings.

To give but a short biographical overview, Ibn al-Qayyim was born on 7 Ṣafar 691/29 January 1292 in Damascus, the city where he also died. His father was a religious scholar who excelled notably in inheritance law (al-farāʿid). From him Ibn al-Qayyim received his initial scientific education and took over the responsibility for the Jawzīyah madrasah. This madrasah also “served as a court of law for the Hanbali kādī al-kudāt of Damascus.” His education “was particularly wide and sound.” The subjects of his education, and especially the names of his teachers, are extensively listed in the biographical dictionaries. Among them are Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī, an opponent of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Taymiyyah himself, and Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah. Al-Ṣafadī in particular not only mentions the names of his teachers but also lists the titles of certain books Ibn al-Qayyim read with them. According to the Shafiʿi scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505),

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1 Some such works are mentioned in Rāshid ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Hamīd’s introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, Al-Kalām ‘alā Masʿ alat al-Samāʾ (Riyadh, 1409/1988–89), 14.
3 Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 37, provides information on some close relatives, 38–41.
5 Ibid.
7 Sayyid Ahsan, Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Aligarh, 1988), 32.
he wrote (ṣannafa), debated (nāṣara), practiced legal development (ijtahada), and became one of the great authorities (al-a’immah al-kiçār) in Quran commentary, hadith, practical jurisprudence, both roots [i.e., Quran and sunnah], and Arabic.

He then lists fourteen of Ibn al-Qayyım’s important works. Ibn Rajab mentions that he was likewise versed in “the science of proper conduct, and the terminology, allusions, and subtleties of the Sufis” (‘ilm al-sulûk, wa-kalâm ahl al-taşawwuf, wa-ishârâtihim wa-daqa’iq̣ihim). He is described as outstanding not only for his erudition, but also for his level of piety. Ibn Kathîr says, “I do not know in this world in our time someone who is more dedicated to acts of devotion” (akthar ‘ibâdah minhu), and reports as an eyewitness that Ibn al-Qayyım had a manner of conducting the ritual prayer by which he very much prolonged it, stretching out its bowing and prostration, while turning a deaf ear to any critique thereof. And Ibn Rajab adds that:

he was extremely (ilá al-ghâyah al-qușwâ) dedicated to divine devotion (‘ibâdah), spending the night in prayer (taḥajjud) as well as prolonging ritual prayer, and he invoked the name of God (ta’âllaha), was eager to recall him (lahija bi-al-dhikr), articulated affection, repentance, and petitions of forgiveness and longing directed to God (shaﬀafa bi-al-maḥaţbah, wa-al-inâbah wa-al-istighfâr, wa-al-iftiqâr ilá Allâh), and expressed that he could be broken by him (wa-al-inkišâr lahu) and that he is cast into his hands (wa-al-îtrâţ bayna yadayhi), [all] while entering or leaving prayer (‘alâ ‘atabat ‘ubûdiyyatihi)—to which I never witnessed anything comparable therein [the prayer] (lam ushâhid mitlhahu fi dhâlik).

The Hanbali scholar must have been so peculiar in his pious exaggerations, as some see it, that he caused bewilderment even among the inhabitants of Mecca. Ibn Rajab further relates:

He often (marrāt kathīrah) performed the pilgrimage and dwelled in the holy vicinity (jāwara) in Mecca. The people of Mecca, however, remember him because of his intense devotion (shiddat al-‘ibādah) and multiple circumambulations of the Kaaba (kathrat al-ţawāf), which was regarded as astonishing.23

Although Ibn al-Qayyim made several pilgrimages to Mecca and spent some time there, he is not recorded for any other ūtalab al-‘ilm activities. His modern chronicler Abū Zayd takes some pains to dispel the impression of a travel-shy, stay-at-home scholar, pointing out that many eminent religious scholars were already on hand in Damascus so that he did not need to head for other places. The old patterns of ūtalab al-‘ilm cannot be applied, he says, arguing:

this is not unusual for his epoch, because the cities at that time used to be jam-packed with expert scholars of Islam, outstanding Quran memorizers, and well-versed writers, especially in Damascus.24

When Ibn Taymiyyah returned from Egypt to Damascus in 712/1313 after an absence of six years, Ibn al-Qayyim, at that time aged twenty-one, joined him immediately as a student and remained so until the former’s death in 1328. The companionship with this extraordinary scholar and, from the viewpoint of influential circles, notorious troublemaker, was an experience that shaped Ibn al-Qayyim’s life like no other.25 In 1318, however, the sultan “forbade Ibn Taymiyyah to issue fatwas regarding repudiation (talāq) contrary to the prevailing Hanbali doctrine.” Ibn Taymiyyah landed in prison for five years but kept receiving visitors, as well as publishing and issuing fatwas. Only after his last arrest in 1326, prompted by a critical treatise on the visitation of graves, was he finally denied the possibility to write, a serious deprivation that lasted until his death in 1328.26 During this period, Ibn al-Qayyim was likewise held captive in the citadel of Damascus, accused of prohibiting visits to the grave of Abraham (ziyārat qabr al-Khalīl). Ibn Ḥajar

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al-‘Asqalānī recounts: “He was arrested together with Ibn Taymiyah in the Citadel after he was humiliated (uḥīna) and paraded around (ṭīfa bi-hī) on a camel.”27 Delivering fatwas in line with the convictions of Ibn Taymiyah had brought about this treatment and the ensuing arrest, but since Ibn al-Qayyim was “the most devoted disciple of his mentor, he was especially marked for humiliation.”28 He would have been shown more leniency and been spared this sojourn in prison had he switched legal doctrines. In the eyes of many followers, however, this self-imposed fate had nothing to do with social stain and stigmatization; on the contrary, as Ibn Rajab reports:

He underwent inquisition (umtuḥīna), and was repeatedly harmed (ūdhā) and jailed (ḥūbisa) together with Ibn Taymiyah in the Citadel, but separated from him, and was only released from there after the death of the shaykh.29

The verb umtuḥīna already recalls the “mihānah” of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal30 and—in this great tradition of sacrifice in the name of wholehearted dedication to the holy sources—the subsequent multiple mihān of Ibn Taymiyah. By undergoing his own “mini-mihānah,” Ibn al-Qayyim impressed certain people, while repulsing others. Even after the death of Ibn Taymiyah, Ibn al-Qayyim “suffered distress (umtuḥīna) once again because of the fatwas of Ibn Taymiyah.”31 In 1345 he “experienced mihān with the judges” (jarat lahu mihān ma’a al-quḍāḥ), namely Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1378), the Shafi‘ī chief judge of Damascus, “because of his fatwa on the permissibility of a shooting contest (musābaqah) without a third competitor (muhallil).”32 In 1349, a second conflict arose with al-Subkī because of Ibn al-Qayyim’s stubborn adherence to Ibn Taymiyah’s fatwas, this time concerning the much-debated issue of repudiation (ṭalāq).33 Before it escalated, however, a conciliation (ṣulḥ) was reached between the two with the help of the amir Sayf

28 Aḥsan, Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, 33.
29 Ibn Rajab, Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah, 2:448.
Compared with his scientific skills, Ibn al-Qayyim’s “career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition that the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state.”

But when Ibn al-Qayyim died in 1350 at the age of sixty, his burial attracted huge crowds of people. He was buried beside his mother in the Bāb al-Ṣaghr cemetery. One of his three sons, ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1355), succeeded him at the Ṣadrīyah madrasah.

The main feature that ultimately distinguishes Ibn al-Qayyim from Ibn Taymiyya seems to be his general mood and attitude toward the world. According to a modern Damascus-based shari‘ah commentator, Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, their “modes of thinking” (al-minhaj al-fikr) differ in that Ibn Taymiyya is “hot-blooded” (ḥādd al-mizāj), whereas Ibn al-Qayyim is “mild-tempered” (raqiq al-uslūb). While his master is often described in situations revealing his choleric rage, notorious impatience, uncompromising stance, aggressiveness, and sarcastic rejoinders, Ibn al-Qayyim is perceived as a profoundly different, rather sanguine individual. Ibn Kathīr, who claims to have belonged to the inner circle of this scholar, reports that Ibn al-Qayyim’s behavior easily won sympathy, because he never envied others or caused harm to them, never blamed anybody, or harbored hatred or grudges. Conflicts simply for the sake of dispute did not suit his personality. He preserved this attitude even in jail:

During his imprisonment he was busy reciting the Quran, contemplating, and meditating. Thereupon many good things were disclosed to him (fa-futihah ‘alayhi min dhālik khayr kathīr) and he gained a large portion of the right senses and sentiments (al-adhwāq wa-al-mawāfīd al-ṣaḥīḥah). As a consequence, he mastered the

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37 Ābu Zayd, Ibn Ḫayyīm al-Jawzīyah, 311 f.
38 Ahsan, Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Ābd al-Wahhab, 35. The other two were named Ībrāhīm and Sharaf al-Dīn (Ibn Qayyīm al-Jawzīyya on the Invocation of God, xii).
discourse of the sciences of the people of [mystical] experiences (ahl al-ma’ārif) and gained access to their concealed issues (wa-al-dukhūl fī ghawāmiḏihim), and his writings are full of that.  

His modern admirers feel obliged to point out that he felt longings and affection that captivated his heart, not in the manner of the extreme Sufis, but of the venerable forefathers” (lā ‘alā manhaj al-muttašawwiṯa al-ğulāh bal ‘alā ṣaṭr al-salaf al-ṣālih).  

Ibn Rajab, who is very famous himself, confessed, “I never saw anybody with a broader knowledge than him.”  

A modern editor praises Ibn al-Qayyim as “the very learned and encyclopedic” (al-‘allaṯmah al-mawsuṯ). He was indeed outstanding (bārī’) in several sciences, such as Quran commentary (tafsīr), jurisprudence, Arabic, grammar, and hadith. Ibn al-Qayyim also possessed an impressive library, since he purchased more manuscripts than anybody else, and devoted much time to studying them. This is apparent after reading only a single example of his writings. This is not to say that he diligently quoted from his sources; as a matter of fact, he seldom explicitly quoted anything but Quran and sunnah—a deplorable habit that makes an assessment of his original contributions all the more difficult. He was such an enthusiastic collector of books “that he obtained an unquantifiable number of them, while his children for a long period after his death used to sell out of this what they did not finish.” His whole life was rooted in religious sciences. He served as imam at the Jawziyeh, and after 1342 he also taught at the Şadriyeh and other institutions. Further, he issued fatwas and wrote books and treatises. Al-Şafadī informs us that he worked a lot, disputed, carried out legal development, bent to

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41Ibn Rajab, Kitāb al-Dhayl ‘alā Šaabqāt al-Ḥanābilibah, 2:448.  
42Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyeh, 45.  
47Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyeh, 61.  
48Al-Baqārī, Ibn al-Qayyim min Aṯārīḥi al-‘Ilmīyah, 60.  
the quest [for knowledge], composed, and became one of the great leading figures in the science of Quran commentary, hadith, legal and theological hermeneutics, jurisprudence, and Arabic.\textsuperscript{50}

The sources convey the impression of a workaholic.\textsuperscript{51} His fields of expertise can hardly be enumerated, because

the sciences he learned and in which he distinguished himself encompass nearly all the sciences of the holy law and God’s (takādū ta’ummu ‘ulūm al-sharī‘ah wa-‘ulūm al-ālihah).\textsuperscript{52}

One would expect that a scholar of his standing would have had a brilliant career in the relevant institutions of higher learning. This, however, did not happen, although he did have some moderate success. Three reasons account for this. First, his œuvre provides no easy reading. The scope of his erudition and eloquence could not make up for his long-windedness and tedious focus on the whole range of minutia related to any problem.\textsuperscript{53} Second, his loyalty to Ibn Taymiyyah, even after his death, proved to be a persistent impediment to achieving higher aspirations: “Ibn Qayyim had a decent career, but since he represented and propagated Ibn Taymiyyah’s thoughts, he was at times hampered by the same circle which opposed his master.”\textsuperscript{54} As a consequence, his writings quickly fell into oblivion: “A majority of his works have become extinct since in the early periods no care was taken to preserve them.”\textsuperscript{55} Already in Ibn Rajab’s time, Ibn al-Qayyim’s works were largely forgotten.\textsuperscript{56} Abū Zayd discusses this “concealed reason why many of the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim disappeared from the Islamic library” (al-sīr fī ikhtifā‘ al-kāthur min kutub Ibn al-Qayyim ‘an al-maktabah al-islāmiyah).\textsuperscript{57} He answers his own question by referring to the widespread indignation (sakhṭ) and quarreling (khiṣām) instigated by the activities of Ibn Taymiyyah, which continued well beyond the latter’s death. Finally, “the enemies of this Salafi call” (da‘wah) embarked upon

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{50}Al-Ṣafadī, Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt, 2:271; for a collection of such reports, see Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 51–53.
\item \textsuperscript{51}Ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah, 14:253.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 51.
\item \textsuperscript{53}Cf. the critical remarks in Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Al-Durar al-Kāminah, 4:22.
\item \textsuperscript{54}Ahsan, Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{55}Ibid., 35.
\item \textsuperscript{57}Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 309.
\end{itemize}
the collection and burning of his books and those of his master Ibn Taymiyyah.\footnote{Ibid., 310.} Even today, the accusation against Ibn Taymiyyah that he was the "father of Islamic fundamentalism"\footnote{Birgit Krawietz, "Ibn Taymiyya, Vater des islamischen Fundamentalismus?: Zur westlichen Rezeption eines mittelalterlichen Scharisatgelehrten," in Theorie des Rechts und der Gesellschaft, ed. Manuel Atienza et al. (Berlin, 2003), 39–62.} rarely includes Ibn al-Qayyim explicitly, but it does cast a certain suspicion on him. A third reason is the repression of Hanbalism with the advent of Ottoman supremacy, which basically favored Hanafism.\footnote{Ignaz Goldziher, "Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 62 (1908): 28; Ahsan, Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, 30.} The development of Hanbalism has barely been studied for the period before the eighteenth century,\footnote{Michael Cook, Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought (Cambridge, 2000), 158–63.} when the importance of neo-Hanbali authors reappears as a sort of \textit{deus ex machina} in the time of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) in what today constitutes the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

While this introduction is intended to point out areas of needed research, rather than filling existing gaps, the main part of this article is dedicated to an attempt to outline and categorize Ibn al-Qayyim’s works. We first need to know what is available before addressing the other serious problems of insufficient research. The methodology chosen for the second and main part of this article therefore differs from that of the previous two projects in this long-term series on the "great Mamluk polymaths."\footnote{Marlis J. Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present," Mamlûk Studies Review 5 (2001): 73–89; Stephan Conermann, 'Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works,” Mamlûk Studies Review 8 (2004): 115–39.}

\section*{Works of Ibn al-Qayyim}

Introductions to editions of Ibn al-Qayyim’s works usually present only a number of various book titles to acquaint the reader with his literary output.\footnote{For instance, 57 titles in \textit{Al-Ṭuruq al-Hukmiyyah fi al-Siyāsah al-Sharī‘iyah}, ed. Ahmad al-Za‘bī (Beirut, 1999), 22–24, or 20 "most important and renowned of his books" in \textit{Shifā‘ al-‘Alîl fi Masā’il al-Qa‘dā’ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta’lîl}, 2nd ed. Muṣṭafā Abū Naṣr al-Shalabi (Jeddah, 1415/1995), 1:13–14. Cf. for pre-modern voices Abū Zayd, \textit{Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah}, 192–97.} Such a mere enumeration of doubtlessly important titles is of little help in getting an idea of the character and composition of his œuvre.\footnote{The article "Ḥanābila" by Henri Laoust, in \textit{EI\textsuperscript{2}}, 3:161, mentions only four titles; likewise his article 'Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya,' 822. Much more detailed are the ones by Najīb Māyīl Haravī, }
categorize his writings still feel compelled to deliver some remarks on the general difficulty of analyzing his scientific output on the basis of clear-cut categories. One editor, for instance, in his long introduction quotes from Şubhî al-Şâlih’s preliminary remarks to his edition of Aḥkâm Ahl al-Dhimmah to make the observation:

At times, it is difficult for the researcher to consider something from the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim under a specific category (ism mawdû‘î khâṣṣ), . . . because what he wrote on theology (kalâm) is not devoid of legal aspects as well as of exhortations that refine the hearts (al-mawâ‘iz al-muraqqiqa lil-qulûb), and what he wrote on practical jurisprudence and on the principles of legal reasoning is also not free from theological studies and exhortations. 

Given this multi-layered character and departure from familiar genres, it is no coincidence that many an editor or scholar has shied away from such a task or stopped short of any further inquiry by simply reverting to a list of titles, or by reducing the state of the art to broad generalizations. No wonder that Western secondary literature has also failed to come up with any remedy in this regard, providing only bits and pieces. The relevant Western secondary literature on Ibn al-Qayyim is cited throughout this article. Therefore, it has proven necessary to try a somewhat different approach here. To begin with, the present overview makes no attempt to recommend a definitive way to finally pinpoint Ibn al-Qayyim’s numerous writings under familiar genre labels. It calls for a heightened awareness that any classification can be used only loosely, since most of his writings defy easy categorization and—as a rule—transcend familiar boundaries. That is to say, the majority of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings could also legitimately be categorized differently. Nevertheless, the present study does not seek recourse to overly broad, catch-all categories, such as cramming several titles under one simple term, for instance “religious doctrine” (al-‘aqidah), to cope with this inherent ambiguity. Instead, the aim is to convey a sense of

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66 An exception is Schallenbergh, “The Diseases of the Heart,” 421–28, who analyzed a number of his writings.
certain common threads in the author’s interest and output. With a bird’s-eye view, but occasionally with a more focused look at specific writings or parts of them, Ibn al-Qayyim’s publications available in print are grouped under certain headings and their characteristics identified. His most important works will be discussed in the context of these subdivisions of his religious-scientific output. For the sake of lucidity, not every small tract attributed to him shall be recorded. Nor is any chronology of his many writings an option here. The same applies to an analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim’s sources and his indebtedness to certain authors, especially to Ibn Taymiyyah, although the latter’s influence is sporadically traced. The authenticity of a substantial percentage of Ibn al-Qayyim’s work is contested, and much that appears in modern publications is of little help to the critical reader who seeks the precise original work. This is an issue that will be demonstrated for a variety of writings in this survey which proceeds along the following divisions:

(1) Inner-Islamic religious polemics
(2) Intercommunal polemics with Jews and Christians
(3) Eschatology
(4) Quranic studies
(5) Hadith
(6) Legal methodology
(7) Practical jurisprudence
(8) Moral psychology
(9) Pervasion of everyday life

On a second level, the intricate complex of modern perception, transformation, and distortion of Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre by a plethora of compilations will be exposed to a certain degree. This includes a discussion of the considerable confusion about the original format of his writings.

(1) Inner-Islamic Religious Polemics
As an ardent follower of Ibn Taymiyyah, it is not surprising to find Ibn al-Qayyim engaged in religious polemics. Committed to a literal understanding of the holy sources, he unwaveringly promotes religious truth as he sees it. Various intra-communal Muslim polemics aim to address familiar Hanbali hot spots. A voluminous

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68The most detailed account of titles attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim or referred to by himself is Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, 201–309.
opus is Al-Šawá’iq al-Mursalah ‘alá al-Jahmíyáh wa-al-Mu’attílah.69 This edition is the fruit of a dissertation from Saudi Arabia. Its editor writes in his introduction that ‘Ibn al-Qayyím lived in a century to a certain degree similar to the century we live in today,’ since an awakened Islamic community of believers returned to its Creator, “after it had suffered from defeats and losses of vigor.”70 People in the author’s time were divided into several factions, while books on Sufism, philosophy, and speculative theology (‘ilm al-kaláam) were widespread and “the people were tempted (fútína) by them, like they are tempted today by Western patterns of thinking, so that truth and void get mixed” in the minds of many Muslims. Ibn al-Qayyím is given credit for laying down “the most important principal deviations (uṣúl al-inhiråfí) of the Jahmites, if not of many sects (fíraq).” Things turned bad because reason (‘aql), desire (shahwah), personal judgement (ra’y), caprice (háwá), politics (siyása), and personal taste (dhawq) had taken precedence over revelation (wahý).71

A smaller but better known work is his Ijtímah al-Juyúsh al-Islámiyáh ‘alá Gházw al-Mu’attílah wa-al-Jahmíyáh, which is also known under the title Al-‘Uláw wa-al-Istiwa’ (Highness and sitting), or simply al-Istiwa’. It is a tract that pinpoints the literalistic criticism of Jahmites. It speaks out against denying God all attributes (ta’tíl) by dealing with the Quranic information that God, for instance, “sat” on a throne (al-rahmán ‘alá al-arsh istáwá).72 The attributes of God (sífát Alláh) are an old and fiercely debated issue with manifold hermeneutical implications.73 The title of the epistle (risálah) in question could be translated as “Gathering the Islamic troops to fight the mu’attílah and the jahmíyáh.” The “troops” Ibn al-Qayyím claims to have assembled therein are utterings taken from the Quran, dicta of the Prophet’s companions and their followers, renowned traditionalists, leading


71 Ibid., 1:6.


interpreters of the Quran (‘immat al-tafsīr), Sufis and ascetics, theologians, poets, even one or the other philosopher, jinn and ants—as enshrined in the cherished reservoir of early Islamic texts.74

A third theological tract of importance is Shīfā‘ al-‘Alīl fi Masā‘il al-Qadā‘ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Hikmah wa-al-Ta‘līl (Cure of the ill concerning questions of divine ordinance, predestination, underlying reason, and finding explanations).75 The title is an example of Ibn al-Qayyim’s penchant for medical metaphors when discussing—to his mind—necessary normative orientations. This time, his arguments are basically directed against the ideas of, on the one hand, the fatalistic Islamic school of the Jabariyyah, and on the other, the Qadariyyah, perceived as extreme proponents of man’s free will.76 The cluster of theological problems in question is not a mere academic exercise for Ibn al-Qayyim, but relates to his inner conviction of man’s accountability for his deeds, of which freedom of choice is the essential precondition. He therefore stands up against all charges of blurring the boundaries between good and evil or—to be more precise—between certain and uncertain as well as between permitted and forbidden. According to him, an allegation of fatalism is averse to the logic of divine legislation, the sending of prophets, and reward or punishment in the hereafter.77 The same applies, on the other hand, to self-important behavior of man when confronted with God’s demands. Today, as well, self-appointed agents of the Islamic heritage (turaḍ) underline the necessity of “the authentic method for an understanding of religious doctrine” (al-manhāj al-saḥīh fī fahm al-‘aqīdah) which they claim to have found in Ibn al-Qayyim’s theological works.78

Also to be mentioned under the rubric of religious polemics is the booklet Al-Kāfīyah al-Shāfi‘ah fī al-Intisār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyyah (The Sufficient and salutary concerning the triumph of the rescued group).79 It is better known as

74Ijtima‘ al-Juyūsh al-Islāmiyyah, 7.

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Al-Qašīdah al-Nūniyah (Ode rhyming in the letter "n"). It comprises important tenets of faith in the form of a didactic poem or mnemonic manual. It further fueled fierce discussions of old disputes over the divine attributes, etc., that were launched by various commentaries and which prompted a famous refutation from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), namely Al-Sayf al-Saqīl fī al-Radd ‘alá Ibn Zafīl (The Burnished sword in refuting Ibn Zafīl), i.e., Ibn al-Qayyim. During the lifetime of its author the Nūniyah could only be transmitted in secret.

(2) INTERCOMMUNAL POLEMICS WITH JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Nasārā (Guidance for the confused: answers to Jews and Christians) has been variously published. A first edition appeared already in 1323/1905–6 in Egypt. Of special importance for any future analysis is a Saudi Arabian dissertation from the Islamic Muhammad Ibn Sa‘ūd University which was published in 1416/1996. It provides not only an important critical edition, but also has an introduction of more than 200 pages. Concerning the context of his engagement, this Saudi Arabian editor informs his readers:

The Jews and Christians used to carry the banner of enmity against the Muslim community (ummah) in the course of the centuries. Their deceit (kayd) is endless, not restricted to one means, but they fight against Muslims with all the means available to them. At times, they oppose them with strength and combat (qita‘l), if they find a way to do so; at others, they take recourse to deceit and conspiracies or they defame by suspicions (qadhf al-shubuḥ), trying to fill Muslims with scepticism toward their [own] doctrinal beliefs (tashkik al-muslimūn bi-‘aqīdatihim).

The book at hand is therefore presented as a reaction to such endeavors and allegations from non-Muslim religious communities. It basically deals with seven

82 Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, 288.
83 Kitāb Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā (Miṣr, 1323/1905).
84 Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā, ed. al-Ḥājj, 7, 141–42.
85 Ibid., 6.
key theoretical issues raised by distortions of Islam by Jews and Christians, such as their questioning of the prophethood of Muḥammad. The editor not only discusses the monograph’s relation and independent value in comparison with Ibn Taymīyah’s Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Man Baddala Din al-Maṣīḥ, but also of two similar earlier works—one by Abū al-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and the other by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111). Finally, the editor not only claims a great portion of originality for Ibn al-Qayyim’s piece and sees his endeavors as complementary to Ibn Taymīyah, but also stresses that the tone of the former is very different from that of his teacher:

I found that Ibn al-Qayyim did not believe in the manner of harshness (‘unf) and abuse (shatm) in responding to his adversary (khaṣm). Rather, he believed in the principle of dispelling doubt (shubhah) with arguments (bi-al-ḥujjah) and proof (burhān).

While his tone and strategies in making counter-arguments may differ from Ibn Taymīyah’s, Ibn al-Qayyim, like his master, nevertheless does not hesitate to directly address all the touchy issues. However, a proper comparison of their style and content, as well as a comparison with other writings, is still awaited.

(3) Eschatology

With two outstanding monographs of wide circulation, eschatology is one of Ibn al-Qayyim’s influential areas of activity. Of these two, the “Book of the Soul,” Kitāb al-Rūḥ, is the more popular. It is a real best seller and gained him a reputation even in circles opposed to him in other ways. Less polemical, but definitely rooted in his literalist text interpretation, are his efforts concerning Islamic eschatology. Although the Quran declares the question of the human soul to be unexplorable, for instance in 17:85, no other author has presented such a diligent investigation of the holy sources and statements on the various aspects of

86The seven main topics are, for instance, listed ibid., 131–32.
88Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā, ed. al-Ḥājj, 595.
89The subtitle is often rendered in the following form as Al-Rūḥ: Fī al-Kalām ‘alā Arwāḥ al-Amwāt wa-al-Aḥyā’ bi-al-Dalā’il min al-Kitāb wa-al-Sunnah wa-al-Āthār wa-Aqwāl al-‘Ulama’, cf. for instance the 3rd ed. (Mısır, 1966). All sorts of blends are available. For details of this work see Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 253–58.
90To mention here only one other edition of Al-Rūḥ, ed. ‘Īsām al-Ṣabābiṭi (Cairo, 1415/1994).
the soul, especially of its whereabouts after death but before resurrection.92 The work itself was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.

A bit less famous, but also widely circulating in many editions is his Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ (Guide for the souls to the realm of ultimate joy), also known under the title Kitāb Ṣifat al-Jannah (Book on the quality of paradise).93 What the Kitāb al-Rūḥ provides for the knowledge of the soul, the “Guide for the Souls” offers with regard to Paradise. Such aspects as its "gardens, fruits, castles, black-eyed maidens, food, clothes, attire, adornment, jewelry, and the rivers therein" are so vividly described by direct quotations from the hadith and Quran that the reader is motivated to strive for them.94 Striking are the most blatant, down-to-earth accounts of what can be awaited. Such descriptions are a necessary outcome of Ibn al-Qayyim’s non-metaphorical understanding of the holy texts. Since it comprises some five hundred pages in Arabic and suffers from "too much information on chains of authorities (kathrat al-‘an’anah), burden of some topics, and multitude of linguistic details," several short versions have been arranged.95 Ibn al-Qayyim did not come up with a comparable compilation for the other option for the soul (and body), i.e., hell, although the latter is also an important topic in the sources. Because Muslims are not supposed to stay in hell eternally, Ibn al-Qayyim prefers not to frighten people about the hereafter (tarhīb). There is no famous independent tarḥīb work in Ibn al-Qayyim’s literary output on the torments awaiting sinners in the world to come. Probably such an approach did not match his personal inclinations and preaching habits, as shall be demonstrated in the section on his moral theology.

(4) QURANIC STUDIES
Ibn al-Qayyim did not leave behind a complete commentary on the Quran (tafsīr) or undertake to write one, as might be expected from a scholar of his standing.

92Cf. Timothy J. Gianotti, Al-Ghazālī’s Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul: Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the Ihyyā’ (Leiden, 2001), which also contains a good selection of relevant secondary literature.
93Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, 240.
Although he drew heavily on the Quran, he usually combined Quranic interpretation with other aspects throughout his writing. He seems to have been more dedicated to the demonstration of certain ideas or perspectives than to an abstract goal of general commentary. Given his penchant for long-windedness even on the most minute topics, an official taṣfīr work would have exceeded all reasonable measures anyhow. Instead, we find him concentrating on the interpretation of certain passages of the Quran. In this sense he produced a limited number of sporadic, but clear-cut taṣfīr units. His extensive use of Quran interpretation in the course of general writing on the holy sources could be called commentary in a secondary sense, but is as such difficult to specify. Of special importance in the overall understanding of Ibn al-Qayyim’s taṣfīr are his remarks on the very beginning and some final parts of the Quran: the very first chapter, namely “The Opening” Surah (al-Fātihah), and the likewise short chapters at its end, namely Surah 109, “The Unbelievers” (al-Kāfirūn), as well as Surahs 113, “The Twilight” (al-Falaq), and 114, “The People” (al-Nās). The modern book market offers in monographic form a Taṣfīr Sūrat al-Fātihah, a Taṣfīr al-Mu’awwidhatayn, i.e., a commentary on the last two surahs, numbers 113 and 114, and a Taṣfīr Sūwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn. A closer look at the first of these three books, Taṣfīr Sūrat al-Fātihah, reveals that it has simply been taken from the first part of the compendium Madārij al-Sālikīn. In his opening words Ibn al-Qayyim nevertheless describes the fātihah as the bearer of the most central names of God. The editor concedes this fact only by quoting the relevant part of the Madārij in his very last footnote.

The second separately published commentary booklet, Taṣfīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn, is also taken from one of the huge compendia, namely Badā'ī’ al-Fawā’id. It draws attention to Ibn al-Qayyim’s attachment to spiritual healing and white magic, i.e., to counter-measures against evil by reference to specifically strong passages of the Quran, notably the last two surahs. The author himself announces:

The aim is to discuss these two surahs and to show that they are

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96Taṣfīr al-Mu’awwidhatayn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972).
97Taṣfīr Sūwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn, ed. Muḥammad Hāmid al-Fiqī (Beirut, ca. 1974).
98Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil Iyyāka Na’budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta’in, ed. Rīdwān Jāmī’ Rīdwān (Cairo, 2001), 1:21–113, corresponds to the above-mentioned Taṣfīr Sūrat al-Fātihah. Madārij al-Sālikīn is dealt with in this article in section eight on moral theology.
99Taṣfīr Sūrat al-Fātihah, ed. Muḥammad Hāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, ca. 1979), 3.
100Taṣfīr Sūrat al-Fātihah, 107.
102On magic see below the part on “medicine of the Prophet” (ṭibb al-nabī) in section 9.
tremendously useful, that people strongly benefit from, if not need them, that no one is able to dispense with them, that they both have a specific effect on the repulsion of sorcery (sih\r), the evil eye (al-\'ayn), and other evils (shur\r), and that man’s need to seek God’s protection (isti\'adhah) through these two surahs is more pressing than his need for breath, food, drink, and clothes.\textsuperscript{103}

To further illustrate this, Ibn al-Qayyim follows up on some incomplete and less impassioned comments of his teacher Ibn Taymiyah. The tracts of both authors were also patched together for publication in Bombay.\textsuperscript{104} The special interest in this issue in the Indian subcontinent is further indicated by the fact that an Urdu translation of Ibn al-Qayyim’s commentary on the \textit{mu’awwidhat\=an} had already been prepared in 1927 in Lahore.\textsuperscript{105}

On top of that, it was an Indian follower who initiated the most ambitious project and compiled a sort of all-encompassing \textit{tafs\=ir} of Ibn al-Qayyim that was—to the disappointment of his admirers—not authentic. A graduate of Nadwat al-‘Ulam\=a in Lucknow, Mu\=hamm\=ad Uways al-Nadwi, browsed through the works of Ibn al-Qayyim, sorting out their \textit{tafs\=ir} sections in order to cut-and-paste them into a single compendium of 631 pages. As its title he chose \textit{The Precious Commentary} (\textit{Al-Tafs\=ir al-Qayyim}),\textsuperscript{106} insinuating that these were the authentic words of the late medieval Hanbali scholar. Its editor in 1949, Mu\=hamm\=ad \=H\=amid al-Fiqi, however, leaves no doubt in his concluding remark that he had to do much more than just straighten out some slips in Uways’ concoction.\textsuperscript{107} Successive projects to set up a mega-\textit{tafs\=ir} were carried out in the 1990s. They undertook to eliminate the many remaining deficiencies and also to broaden the scope of writings reviewed. One of these hails all the works of Ibn al-Qayyim as being “gardens full of fruit and rivers with fresh water,”\textsuperscript{108} while another characterizes its task as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} \textit{Tafs\=ir al-Mu’awwidhat\=an}, ed. Ma\=hm\=ud Gh\=anim Ghayth, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972), 5.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzi\=yah, \textit{Tafs\=ir al-Mu’awwidhat\=an}, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Al\=i ‘Abd al-\=H\=amid \=H\=amid, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1987), editor’s introduction, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{105} By someone named ‘Abd al-Rah\=im, according to Ahsan, \textit{Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzi\=yah}, 247.
\item \textsuperscript{106} \textit{Al-Tafs\=ir al-Qayyim lil-Im\=am Ibn al-Qayyim}, compiled—as indicated on the title page—by “the meticulous Salaf\=i” Mu\=hamm\=ad Uways al-Nadwi, ed. Mu\=hamm\=ad \=H\=amid al-Fiqi (Cairo, 1368/1949), “with the support of the distinguished traders and Mecca-based Salaf\=i ‘Abd All\=ah and ‘Ubayd All\=ah Di\=hlawi.” Al-Baq\=ari, \textit{Ibn al-Qayyim min \=A\=th\=arih\=i al-‘Im\=iyah}, 219, assures his readers that Ibn al-Qayyim did wish to write a \textit{tafs\=ir} and dedicates a large section to its description and reconstruction, 219–80, 288.
\item \textsuperscript{107} \textit{Al-Tafs\=ir al-Qayyim lil-Im\=am Ibn al-Qayyim}, 631. For more criticism see Ab\=u Zayd, \textit{Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzi\=yah}, 232.
\item \textsuperscript{108} \textit{Bad\=a’i‘ al-Tafs\=ir: al-J\=ami‘ li-Tafs\=ir al-Im\=am Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzi\=yah}, ed. Yus\=ri al-Sayyid
\end{itemize}
uncovering a "hidden treasure" (kanz madfūn). However, both authors of these reviews deserve credit for not listing Ibn al-Qayyim as the official author, as is often done, and indicating on the title page that they had put together (jama’a) the amalgamation contained therein themselves. Such an announcement is welcome these days. Devices to attract the customer by creating fancy titles recalling familiar works of an author are, nevertheless, widespread. In this case, the title of the newly created Bada’i’ al-Tafsīr seems to suggest the authentic Bada’i’ al-Fawā’id.

This Bada’i’ al-Fawā’id (Amazing benefits) is a voluminous work not easily categorized. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) describes it as having "many benefits, the majority of which concern questions of grammar" (huwa kathr al-fawā’id aktharuhu masā’il nahlīyāh). Various other lessons derived from Quran and sunnah are also assembled in this work, which transcends genre categories. Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, in his introduction to one edition, characterizes it as a unique combination of general principles in law and legal methodology, explication of the underlying reasons for the Holy Law (asrār al-sharī‘ah), detailed description of eloquence, purity of expression, ease of style, clarity of purpose and intention, and power of persuasion by bringing forward manifold and comprehensive proofs, by subtlety and precision, renewal (tajdid) and creative development (ijtiḥād), so that it belongs to the core of general books on the shari‘ah.

For the sake of convenience, we consider the "Amazing Benefits" here within the section on Quranic studies, also in order to distinguish it from other writings in this field—be they real or synthetic. Bada’i’ al-Fawā’id should not be confused with Al-Fawā’id, another authentic work by Ibn al-Qayyim that is presented in our section eight on moral psychology. Neither does it have anything to do with Kitāb al-Fawā’id al-Mushawwiq ilā Ulūm al-Qur‘ān wa-‘Ilm al-Bayān (The


110Bada’i’ al-Fawā’id, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buhūth, 2nd ed. (Mecca and Riyadh, 1998), which contains, by the way, Ibn al-Qayyim’s tafsīr on the Mu’awwidhata ‘n, 2:424–500. There are also earlier editions from Cairo.

111Al-Suyūṭī, Kitāb Bughyāt al-Wu‘āḥ, 25.

112Bada’i’ al-Fawā’id, ed. Ma’rūf Muṣṭafā Zurayq et al. (Beirut, 1994), 1, introduction of Wahbah al-Zuhaylī.

Benefits which arouse interest in the sciences of the Quran and of eloquence). The latter is often ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim and has appeared as such on the book market.\footnote{Pseudo-} Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Kitāb al-Fawā’id al-Mushawwiq ilā ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān wa-‘Ilm al-Bayān, ed. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Khusht (Cairo, 1994), with criticism of previous editions, 11. An Arabic edition from Pakistan warmly recommends it for didactic purposes in a direct address to prospective readers.\footnote{Printed in Gijranwala (Pakistan), 1394/1974.} This, however, proved to be a wrong ascription, because its real author is the scholar Ibn al-Naqīb.\footnote{For a detailed analysis and evaluation see Bada‘i’i al-Taftāz, 1:64–75.} To set the record straight, a recent edition printed a warning under the subtitle on the front page which reads "printed wrongly under the title Al-Fawā’id al-Mushawwiq ilā ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān wa-‘Ilm al-Bayān of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah."\footnote{Muqaddimat Taftāz Ibn al-Naqīb: Fi ‘Ilm al-Bayān wa-al-Ma‘ānī wa-al-Badi’ wa-l-jāz al-Qur’ān, ed. Zakariyyā Sa‘īd ʿAlī (Cairo, 1415/1995).} Certain parts of the huge Badā‘i’i al-Fawā‘id, as happened with several of Ibn al-Qayyim’s compendia, have been published separately.\footnote{For instance, Dhamm al-Ḥasad wa-Ahlihi, ed. ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1986); Irshād al-Qur’ān wa-al-Sunnah ilā Tariq al-Munāẓarah wa-Taṣḥīḥihā, ed. Ayman ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Beirut and Damascus, 1417/1996).} Some such partial publications tend to be blended with other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim. In short, whether spurred on by pious engagement or the rules of the market, there is a huge number of creative compilers, extractors, condensers, and synthesizers who have a share in the current confusion about the scholar’s œuvre.\footnote{This does not mean, of course, that there are not also many examples of serious secondary literature in Arabic exploring important aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim’s work, e.g., ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Lāshīn, Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Ḥissuḥu al-Balāghī fī Taftāz al-Qur’ān (Beirut, 1982), to name but one example for the realm of tafsīr.}

To conclude this section on his studies immediately related to the Quran we must include a separate,\footnote{Against the claim that this is merely part of a book see Al-Tibyān fī Aqṣām al-Qur’ān, ed. Ḫatrī al-Ḥarāstānī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zaghlī (Beirut, 1994), 5.} authentic tract by Ibn al-Qayyim, the monograph Al-Tibyān fī Aqṣām al-Qur’ān (The Exposition on oaths in the Quran). It is "a commentary on Quranic verses such as ‘By the sun and its radiance.’"\footnote{Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God, xv.} It is described in one of the introductions as an absolutely unequaled and unique source on the topic.\footnote{Al-Tibyān fī Aqṣām al-Qur’ān, ed. Fawwāz Ahmad Zamarlī (Beirut, 1994), 18–19.} The medieval scholar diligently identifies instances of oaths in the holy book, revealing their background and offering erudite musings. Especially the passage that ‘Muḥammad was the only prophet of God, from among numerous...
others by whose life Allāh has sworn, so dearly beloved was he to him,” is taken as another indicator of his privileged status. Besides dogmatic insight, obtaining everyday spiritual benefits seems to be the overarching focus of Ibn al-Qayyim’s musings on the Quran. He is not interested in making predominantly technical contributions.

(5) HADITH
Although Ibn al-Qayyim drew upon the vast corpus of hadith as hardly anyone else, his immediate engagement in traditional hadith sciences appears to be quite meagre. He wrote an emendation (taḥdīḥ) on al-Mundhirī’s (d. 1258) abridgement (mukhtaṣār) of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī’s Sunan. The latter is widely known as one of the canonized “six books” that contain the core corpus of early Islamic tradition (sunnah). This Taḥdīḥ Mukhtaṣār Sunan Abī Dāwūd was composed by Ibn al-Qayyim during a stay in Mecca; it apparently took him about four months to complete it. The work is also published alongside other Sunan revisions, which is the reason for some different titles on the book market. His further contributions to the field of hadith sciences address from a different angle the range and limits of hadith as a source of knowledge. Ibn al-Qayyim studied reported traditions in their strongest and weakest forms, from the so-called “holy hadith” (ḥadīth al-qudṣi) in which God himself is said to speak, to the weak (dā‘if) hadith at the other end of the spectrum. In the slim tract Al-Farq bayna al-Qur’ān al-Karım wa-al-Ḥadīth al-Qudṣi (The Difference between the noble Quran and the holy hadith), he analyzes their functional, hierarchical, and ritual differences. In Al-Manār al-Munīfī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa‘īf (The Tall lighthouse for correct and weak reports), however, the focus is on spurious reports. There are variants of its title; it is, for instance, also called simply Al-Manār or Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Mīhakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl (Criticism

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of the transmitted and touchstone distinguishing the rejected and the acceptable). According to the latter’s editor, Ibn al-Qayyim “did not intend a thorough examination of the false hadith, but laid down the regulations and principles by which false hadith can be identified.” Such an analysis makes a great difference, since weak traditions, in contrast to spurious ones, are cherished inasmuch as Hanbali doctrine—based on its hierarchy of the law sources—accords them preference over rational arguments.

(6) LEGAL METHODOLOGY

I’lām al-Muwaqqi’īn ‘an Rabb al-'Ālamīn (Instructing those in charge about the master of the two worlds) is a heavy-weight compendium on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It ranks among a distinguished group of about half a dozen usūl al-fiqh monographs that represent the best and most important pre-modern Islamic contributions to the field. Within Hanbali writing, it surpasses works like Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah’s (d. 1233) Rawdat al-Nā‘īr wa-Jannat al-Munā‘īr and Ibn ‘Aqīl’s (d. 1199) Al-Wādiḥ fi Usūl al-Fiqh. Modern manuals on Islamic legal methodology regularly refer their students to Ibn al-Qayyim’s towering work—discussing its positions on a broad range of issues, such as the genesis of Islamic law, analogical reasoning, the reprehensibility of taqlīd and hiyāl, or the fatwas of the Prophet and his companions. An early expression of this esteem in modern times is the fact that the very first edition of I’lām al-Muwaqqi’īn was published in India. The extent and depth of Ibn al-Qayyim’s treatment of the means of legal development (ijtihād) is not surprising, since by his time “virtually all Muslims became semi-rationalists in jurisprudence.”


130 In this sense it could be compared to, for example, Sā‘ībī’s Muwāfqa‘āt.


133 Published in three volumes by al-Maṭba‘a‘ah al-Nizāmīyah, India, 1298 [1880/81]: Abū Zayd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, 209, n. 3 and 4. According to Ahsan, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,” 246, it was brought out in two volumes in Delhi in 1313–14/1885–86 and there is an “Urdu translation entitled Dīn-i-Muḥammādī.”

was particularly true for neo-Hanbali authors who propagated the dire need for *ijtihād*. His indebtedness to the trail-blazing thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah in particular is uncontested, although the latter himself never wrote a comprehensive work on *usūl al-fiqh*, a format that did not suit his personality and approach. The core section of *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn* is to be found towards its very end. It consists of a broad collection of the Prophetic fatwas, i.e., Muḥammad’s transmitted legal or doctrinal decisions, as requested by his followers, which were not directly fueled by divine inspiration (*wahy*). Such a minute presentation of the Prophet’s normative decisions referred to in *sunnah* and the Quran, although not surprising for Ibn al-Qayyim, is quite unusual in the framework of a book on the principles of legal methodology. This ambiguity can be clarified by a deeper look at the exact structure and apparent genesis of this work. The decisive clue is offered in its title, “Instructing Those in Charge about the Master of the Two Worlds.” While the second part, without any doubt, refers to God, the first part refers directly to the authorities, that is to say those who are entitled to sign (in Arabic: *waqqa‘a*). Here Ibn al-Qayyim addresses legal scholars in their function as *muftī* and *mujtahids*, i.e., those who write down their answers to questions and who seek to develop a solution consistent with the holy sources and the legitimate methodological means derived from them. To outline this task, the Hanbali scholar takes early Islamic proto-*iftā‘* as the starting point and eternal model. In his exploration of the various aspects of the correct behavior for the *muftī* and questioner (*mustaftī*), this work, initially devoted to the relationship between *muftī* and *mustaftī*, grew into an encompassing compendium covering, in the end, a whole range of issues relating to *usūl al-fiqh*. Specifically *adab al-muftī* problems are dealt with in the section preceding the Prophetic fatwas. The comprehensive character of *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn* turned it into a convenient reservoir for all sorts of separate, often paperback publications that offer its subtopics piecemeal. Out of this “quarry” which, in its complete form, is published in several volumes, parts hitherto selected

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135 Cf. Henri Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taḥād-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Taimiyya* (Cairo, 1939), 9.
for separate publication include those about taqlid, \textsuperscript{141} qiyās, \textsuperscript{142} the authority of fatwas of the companions of the Prophet, \textsuperscript{143} and, of course, Muḥammad’s fatwas themselves.\textsuperscript{144} The latter became especially popular in the modern era when the qadi was gradually supplanted by the muftī as the most central figure of Islamic legal thinking.\textsuperscript{145} In general, the decades-delayed exploration in Western languages of the Hanbali school of law has also gained impetus lately with regard to Ibn al-Qayyim’s conception of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{146}

(7) PRACTICAL JURISPRUDENCE

In spite of the fact that he is frequently referred to as “the legal scholar” (al-faqih) and in spite of his above-mentioned leading role in the field of usūl al-fiqh, Ibn al-Qayyim did not write a comprehensive furū’ al-fiqh manual, nor did he comment upon one. Instead, a number of legal writings on more specific topics are attributed to him. To start with, it would be excessive to claim that, in these monographs on practical jurisprudence, he was primarily concerned with penal law.\textsuperscript{147} Nevertheless, he is the author of some larger tracts on Islamic jurisprudence that are, though not exclusively, also important from the standpoint of criminal law, namely Ahkām Ahl al-Dhimma, Al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārīkhī, Al-Turuq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharṭīyah, and Kashf al-Ghit‘ā ‘an Ḥukm al-Samā’ wa-al-Ghīnā‘. All four of these works were written in response to fatwa requests. Since they are responsa

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\textsuperscript{141}Ibid., 1:416–82, as compared with Ibn al-Qayyim, Risālāt al-Taqlīd, ed. Muḥammad ‘Afīfī (Beirut and Riyadh, 1983).


\textsuperscript{143}I’lām al-Muwaqqīn, 2:379–407, as compared with Al-Bayyiniyyat al-Salafiyah ‘alā anna Aqwāl al-Ṣahābah Ḥujjah Sharṭīyah fī I’lām al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, commented upon and expanded by Ahmad Salām (Beirut, 1974).

\textsuperscript{144}Fatāwā Rasūl Allāh, ed. Sulaymān Salīm al-Bawwāb (Damascus, 1404/1984).

\textsuperscript{145}Krawietz, “Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muṭahāhid,” 55.


\textsuperscript{147}A study such as Bakr Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, Ahkām al-Jināyih ‘alā al-Nafs wa-mā Dānahā ‘inda Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (Beirut, 1416/1996), might convey the wrong impression that penal law is one of Ibn al-Qayyim’s central areas of interest. In fact, his relevant utterances had to be assembled from a variety of his writings, 12, but had attracted Abū Zayd’s attention because of their insistence on the inherent wisdom of Islamic legislation (tashrīḥ) as against claims of the orientalists’ directed against the allegedly savage character of Islamic penal law, 13. Abū Zayd offers a comparative perspective on the various law schools using them as a frame for selected remarks taken from Ibn al-Qayyim.
and, as such, originally often did not bear an official title, the usual confusion about Ibn al-Qayyim’s book titles here allows for an even greater range of different versions. The monographs mentioned here are widely read and discussed—well beyond the more limited realm of specifically Hanbali jurisprudence.

Outstanding are his *Aḥkām Aḥl al-Dhimmah* (Regulations for the people of the covenant), i.e., Jews and Christians, with whom he was concerned not only in the sphere of theology. This *furuʾ al-fiqh* work is usually published in two volumes. It is one of the most prominent works of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and the most important of his writings in practical jurisprudence in particular. In fact, it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law. No wonder that—once again—the well-known Salafi scholar Ṣubḥi al-Ṣāliḥ prepared the pioneering edition. Of special importance is the long introduction by al-Ṣāliḥ himself and an introduction to Muslim international law (*muqaddimah fī ʿilm al-siyar*) by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh. The editor praises this book as surpassing all earlier works in regard to diligence, depth, and comprehensiveness, and it was the first complete compilation on its topic (*imtāzaʾ an kull mā sabaqaḥu bi-al-diqqah wa-al-ʿumq wa-al-shumūl, fa-kāna awwal kitāb jāmiʿ fī hābiḥi*).

The point of departure was a fatwa request on the poll-tax (*jizyah*) and its imposition on more or less wealthy dhimmīs. The very last part of the *Aḥkām* on the “conditions of ‘Umar,” i.e., of the (fictitious) pact between ‘Umar and the Christians of Syria, has attracted specific attention. The editor of the famous 1961 version of the *Aḥkām* also edited and commented upon them separately that same year. He even recommends this detached part as an instructive and concise account of regulations for dhimmīs. He characterizes it as an appendix on the one hand, but also as a separable and independent entity on the other. In due course, al-Ṣāliḥ

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150 Ibid., 1:1–46, and a description of the originally sole copy of the manuscript in Madras, India, on 47–66, followed by a presentation of Ibn al-Qayyim on 67–73.


153 Ibid., 7.

qualifies this last quarter of the text as its real “center of gravity” (markaz al-thaqal),\textsuperscript{155} which is a frequent feature in Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings.\textsuperscript{156}

The much smaller \textit{Kitāb al-Ṣalāḥ wa-Ḥukm Tārikhā} (Book on the ritual prayer and those who neglect it) was edited in 1376/1956 by the important Salafi scholar Qusayy Muḥībb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb.\textsuperscript{157} Since this legal tract is not very long and is well established as a topic of specific Hanbali (and later also Wahhabi) concern, some editions patch it together with other statements from this school, especially those of its alleged founding father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.\textsuperscript{158} This work of Ibn al-Qayyim is a compound fatwa answering ten questions, all related to the problem of neglecting the duty of prayer. The basic question is whether such a disregard for one’s religious duties has to be treated as unbelief (\textit{kufr}) or not. The scholar’s harsh reaction to skipping this duty is relevant because it offers an opportunity for sanctions in public space. It is worth mentioning that this time Ibn Taymiyāh does not take the lead. Instead, it is Ibn al-Qayyim and it seems a relevant tract of Ibn Taymiyāh has been unearthed and published separately only against the background of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writing.\textsuperscript{159} It has been drawn (\textit{istikhraj}) from his \textit{Majmū’ al-Fatāwā} \textsuperscript{160} and was obviously only recently printed separately for the first time as an “independent epistle” (\textit{risālah mustaqillah}).\textsuperscript{161} The latter was put together with a lengthy introduction, various indices, and extensive footnotes in the epistle itself, that is to say, it had to be substantially edited to publish it along the lines of Ibn al-Qayyim’s monograph.\textsuperscript{162}

\textit{Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyāh fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿiyah} (Legal ways of shari`ah-conforming governance) not only addresses legal issues, such as the judiciary, but also aspects of economics, politics, and administration.\textsuperscript{163} It is presented as “a

\textsuperscript{155} \textit{Ahkām Aḥl al-Dhimmah}, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:18.

\textsuperscript{156} Cf., for instance, the above-mentioned collection of Prophetic fatwas in his \textit{I’lām al-Muwaqqi’in}.

\textsuperscript{157} Other editions and reprints are available. Al-Baqārī, \textit{Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmiyāh}, 136, on Ibn al-Qayyim’s understanding of the term siyāsah.


\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 82–83.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., with the tract bearing extensive footnotes, 89–136.

\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyāh fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿiyah}, ed. Ahmad al-Za’bī [?]. (Beirut, 1999), introduction, 2.
treatise of public law built around a theory of proof." It relies heavily on Ibn Taymiyyah’s Al-Ḥisbah fī al-Islām as well as on Kitāb al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿiyyah fī ʿIslāh al-Rāʾi wa-al-Raʾiyyah, but has received less attention in Western secondary literature. Also in its economic aspects, Ibn al-Qayyim very much followed the ideas of his master. On the level of political jurisprudence, however, the monograph has to be viewed in comparison with a series of other works, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawardi’s (d. 1058) famous Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah. Masud pointed out that in its political fine-tuning, Ibn al-Qayyim’s understanding of siyāsah sharʿiyyah possesses a flavor distinct from Ibn Taymiyyah’s harsh stance.

With Kashf al-Ghitāʾ an Hukm Samāʾ al-Ghināʾ (Lifting the veil: judgement on listening to singing) a chord is struck that is again strongly reminiscent of Ibn Taymiyyah and his criticism that Sufi practices lack respect for the demands of the shariʿah. Although the topic of music is dealt with in other writings of Ibn al-Qayyim as well, such as Madārij al-Sālikīn and Ighāthat al-Lahfān, this monograph is the special product of a fatwa request that was answered by eight late medieval legal scholars; Ibn al-Qayyim was the one who provided the longest and most detailed answer by far. In his surviving legal responses, Ibn al-Qayyim often confronted problems of public space. While his famous longer fatwas acquired the format of full-fledged monographs, as has been demonstrated, it has to be assumed that many of his shorter ones did not survive the test of time. Some of these, however, are in wider circulation because they caused a great stir and prompted refutations, such as his counseling on repudiation (tālāq) or the visitation of graves (ziyārat al-qubūr), along the lines of his stubborn master Ibn Taymiyyah. Taylor even speaks of the

171Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Mashriʿiyyat Ziyārat al-Qubūr, ed. Izzat al-ʿAtṭar al-Husayni (Cairo, 1375/1955). The editor remarks that Ibn al-Qayyim ”was so overwhelmed with love for his master
“inflammatory, revisionist, and radically anti-ziyāra rhetoric of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.” The publication of later refutations may also unearth some of this material. It is further likely that Ibn al-Qayyim incorporated several smaller responsa into his other writings, especially the ethical compendia, with their broad range of topics. Those shall be presented in the next section. At present, however, it is not possible to give a more comprehensive list of his legal publications—a problem that is closely related to the much-needed chronology of his works.

(8) **Moral Theology**

Ibn al-Qayyim is depicted as belonging to “the scholars of the hearts” (‘ulamā’ al-qulūb) and his pathology in the Sufi tradition has already been described by Schallenbergh. His concern for a “treatment of the heart” (tibb al-qulūb) stems from profoundly mystical influences on moral theology and a deeper understanding of the shari‘ah. As opposed to mere lip-service and letter-of-the-law-obedience, this powerful trend directly addresses the conscience of the believer, calls for his internalization of norms, and encourages an enhanced awareness of their necessary application by the responsible individual. The latter, in his daily life—and not merely as a matter of pious seclusion—has to equip himself with sufficient knowledge and insight to monitor his spiritual development and outward behavior within the legal framework of the shari‘ah. In this sense, Ibn al-Qayyim can indeed be called a “Sufi-Hanbalite.” It is primarily for this type of deep pious concern that Ibn al-Qayyim is nowadays mostly appreciated far beyond the Hanbali inner circles of the Near East. In this field he produced the greatest bulk of his writings, namely *Madarij al-Sālikīn, Tarīq al-Hijratayn, Al-Dā‘ wa-al-Dawā‘*, and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. Under his writings on Sufism are further listed *Rawdat Ibn Taymiyya* that he did not transgress any of his dicta, an allegation that should, however, be more critically tested.

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The contents of these works shall be roughly presented and characterized here to allow for some closer analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim as an author of religious ethics.

Madarı́j al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzik il-‘Ummāk ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (Stages of the travelers between “Thee alone we worship and in thee alone do we seek help”)178 is a voluminous commentary on the Sufi manual Manāzik al-Sa‘īrīn (Way stations of the wayfarers)179 of the Herati mystic and Hanbali preacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089).180 The latter has often been commented upon,181 but Ibn al-Qayyim, with his diligent approach and special concentration on the issue of repentance (tawbah) at the beginning of the work, has probably produced the most popular and widespread Ansārī commentary in circulation today. It is no wonder that various short versions are also available.182 In addition to that, the section on tawbah has been singled out and printed separately.183 Madarı́j al-Sālikīn is widely regarded as Ibn al-Qayyim’s finest piece on theological psychology and an eminent example of Hanbali Sufism.

Ibn al-Qayyim’s book titles could be a topic in their own right. Al-Dā‘ wa-al-Dawā‘ (The Malady and the remedy), for instance, is likewise known and published under Al-Jawwāb al-Kāfī li-Man Sa‘āl ‘an al-Dawā‘ al-Shāfī‘ (Sufficient answers on medication).184 The medicinal metaphor is reminiscent of his already-mentioned theological treatate Shifā‘ al-‘Alīl. It starts out with remarks on the blessings of invocation (du‘ā‘) and remembrance of God (dhikr), provides information on sins


178Notice should be taken of an important early edition, namely Madarı́j al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzik il-‘Ummāk ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī: “Iyyāka Na‘budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta‘ín,” since it was “printed with the support of a group of excellent Arabs in Kuwait, India, and Egypt,” ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍá (Cairo, 1333/1915). Ahsan, ‘İbn Qa‘yyım al-Jawzı‘ah,” 246, informs us that vol. 1 was already printed in 1331/1912.

179For information on this work and its commentators see Ansārī al-Harawī, Chemin de Dieu: Trois traités spirituels, trans. and ed. Serge de Laurig de Beaurecueil, 45–77.

180For his place within Hanbalism see A. G. Ravan Farhadi, Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master (Richmond, UK, 1996), 14.


(al-ma‘āšī), distinguishing for instance healthy love (ḥubb) from excessive passion (‘ishq). The compendium is also quite specific on certain aberrations such as polytheism and homosexuality.

Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maşāyid al-Shayṭān is composed—as the title reveals—for “Rescuing the Distressed from Satan’s Snares.” Perlmann has already narrated a sort of rough outline based on the critical edition of al-Fiqē. Schallenbergh renders it as “Assistance for Those Who Seek Refuge From Satan’s Entrapments.” The voluminous work provides interesting reading material insofar as it not only deals with regulations for mastering the straight path to God, but also focuses on sins in all their richness and variety. Two issues in particular dealt with in this monograph were singled out for publication as a separate booklet. The first one is “devilish delusion” (al-waswas al-khannās or waswasah). In this context, the literary impact of both Ibn al-Jawzī’s (d. 1200) famous Talbīs Iblīs and of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223) still needs to be investigated. The second topic of special interest as expressed in various editions is the contested question of triple divorce (talāq al-ghadābān, “divorce of the angry”), i.e., to effect a divorce by pronouncing talāq three times in immediate succession. This procedure was contested by neo-Hanbali legal scholars—notably in a famous fatwa of Ibn Taymiyah. Ibn al-Qayyim backed his position with the consequence of

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186 Ed. Muhammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1939). Among the various editions available there is again the name Muhammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (Cairo, ca. 1969).
188 Printed separately as Al-Waswās al-Khannās (Cairo, 1984), or as Subul al-Khalaṣ min al-Waswās al-Khannās, ed. Nūr Sa‘īd (Beirut, 1992).
190 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, Risālat Dhamm al-Waswasah, ed. ʿAmīn Ṣāliḥ (Baghdad, n.d.).
191 This is all the more necessary since there is a booklet claiming to be Ibn al-Qayyim’s adaptation of the Ibn Qudāmah version, namely Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Makā’id al-Shayāṭīn fī al-Waswasah wa-Dhamm al-Muwawwīḥīn: Sharḥ Kītāb Dhamm al-Muwawwīḥīn wa-al-Tahzīr min al-Waswasah līl-Imām al-Faqīh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (Cairo, 1401/1981), or the Beirut, 1402/1986, edition.
imprisonment, as previously mentioned. Ighāthat al-Lahfān is not only a very popular treatise on theological psychology concerning all sorts of pitfalls in life (including lengthy remarks on doctrinal errors of Christians and Jews) with a presentation of remedies, such as formally seeking God’s protection (isti‘ādhah), but is also relevant for legal doctrine. It deals with challenges for the believer in the context of ritual purity, prayer, visitation of graves, dance, music, singing, polytheism, adultery, and homosexuality. In addition, it contains various reflections on the character of legal tricks (hiyal) and unorthodox innovations (bida’).

In ‘Uddat al-Ṣābirīn wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirīn (Implements for the patient and provisions for the grateful) Ibn al-Qayyim pursues the Sufi topics of patience and gratitude, which are seen as the two halves of faith. He thereby presents “a complete pedagogic encyclopedia,” i.e., he “combines ṣabr with all aspects of life.” This book is tremendously popular. Its essence also reappears in other writings attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim. There is a shortened version in English that assures its readers in the translator’s afterword that, despite “a constant struggle to reassert our Islam in the face of overwhelming pressure from Western media and technology,” the Islamic heritage still has “a great deal to say about the human condition.” Nowadays, even economists claim Ibn al-Qayyim’s assistance, since in the course of this book he also explores the concepts of poverty (faqr) and wealth (ghinā), but without proposing strict asceticism:

Against the background of widespread influence of Sufism which promotes self-denial and pauperism, Ibn al Qayyim has tried to

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197 For example the booklet Maṭāliʿ al-Saʿd bi-Kashf Mawā’iq al-Ḥamd, ed. Fahd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-ʿAskar (Riyadh, 1993), 13–15, which claims to be a fatwa of Ibn al-Qayyim on the issue of praise (ḥamād) for God.

bring out the balanced teachings of Islam with regard to poverty and riches.\textsuperscript{199}

It may seem strange that two of the most notorious literalists could produce such outstanding works on love, namely Ibn al-Qayyim’s \textit{Rawd\textasciiacute{a}t al-Mu\textasciiacute{h}ibb\textasciiacute{\imath}in wa-Nuzhat al-Musht\textasciiacute{	extasciitilde{a}}q\textasciiacute{\imath}in} (The Garden of lovers and the pleasance of yearning souls) and Ibn \textasciitilde{H}azm (d. 1064) with his \textit{\textasciitilde{T}awq al-\textasciitilde{H}am\textasciitilde{\imath}mah} (The Ring of the dove). This paradox is also reflected in an article which—despite its obscure title—conveniently presents and summarizes in English the chapter contents of the \textit{Rawd\textasciitilde{a}h}, which all deal with the “psychology and metaphysics” of earthly love as created by God.\textsuperscript{200} Hence, there is no need to reproduce them here. It should only be added that this work—more than most other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim—quotes a good deal of poetry.\textsuperscript{201} Besides short versions of the \textit{Rawd\textasciitilde{a}h},\textsuperscript{202} parts of this monograph have been edited separately—especially chapter 29 on illegitimate desire (\textit{haw\textasciiacute{a}}).\textsuperscript{203} One editor cites many readers’ ignorance of the exact contents of the great compendia (\textit{al-mu\textasciitilde{s}an\textasciitilde{a}f\textasciiacute{\imath} al-kab\textasciitilde{r}ah}) as the very reason for publishing parts of them as separate tracts. The chapter on \textit{haw\textasciiacute{a}} is the very last one of the book.\textsuperscript{204} Frequently Ibn al-Qayyim provides essential information near the end of his books.\textsuperscript{205} This very chapter of the \textit{Rawd\textasciitilde{a}h} has also been translated into English.\textsuperscript{206} Another method to exploit the wealth of this or other writings of

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Islahi, \textit{Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim}, 6.
\item See \textit{Rawd\textasciiacute{a}t al-Mu\textasciiacute{h}ibb\textasciiacute{\imath}in wa-Nuzhat al-Musht\textasciiacute{	extasciitilde{a}}q\textasciiacute{\imath}in}, ed. Mu\textasciitilde{h}y\textasciitilde{\imath} al-D\textasciitilde{n} D\textasciitilde{\imath}b Mast\textasciitilde{\imath}(?) (Beirut and Damascus, 1997), or any of the manifold editions.
\item For example \textit{Al-Hubb f\textasciiacute{i} al-\textasciitilde{I}sl\textasciitilde{a}m: Mukht\textasciitilde{a}s\textasciitilde{r} Rawd\textasciiacute{a}t al-Mu\textasciiacute{h}ibb\textasciiacute{\imath}in wa-Nuzhat al-Musht\textasciiacute{	extasciitilde{a}}q\textasciiacute{\imath}in}, ed. \textasciitilde{S}\textasciitilde{h}\textasciitilde{l}\textasciitilde{i}h ibn \textasciitilde{U}\textasciitilde{t}hm\textasciitilde{\i}n al-Lah\textasciitilde{h}\textasciitilde{\i}m (Amman, 1994).
\item Ibn al-Qayyim, \textit{Dhamm al-Haw\textasciiacute{a} wa-Ittib\textasciiacute{\i}hi}, ed. ‘Al\textasciitilde{i} Hasan ‘Al\textasciitilde{i} ‘Abd al-\textasciitilde{H}am\textasciitilde{\i}d (Amman, 1988). It would have to be analyzed against the background of previous writings, such as Ibn al-Jawzi’s (d. 1200) “Censure of Passion” (\textit{Dhamm al-Haw\textasciiacute{a}}); Bell, \textit{Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam}, 11–45, 99–100, and Stefan Leder, Ibn al-Gauzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft: der Traditionalist in gelehrter Überlieferung und originärer Lehre (Beirut, 1984). Another example is the chapter on glances and gazing that was separately published as \textit{Ahk\textasciiacute{a}m al-N\textasciitilde{a}z\textasciitilde{r}}, ed. Ahmad ‘Ubayd (Damascus, 1348/1929–30), but this at least admits already on the title page to being a “section isolated from” (\textit{nubdh\textasciiacute{a}h mujarradah}) the \textit{Rawd\textasciiacute{a}h}. On \textit{n\textasciitilde{a}z\textasciitilde{r}} cf. Bell, \textit{Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam}, 125–47.
\item \textit{Dhamm al-Haw\textasciiacute{a} wa-Ittib\textasciiacute{\i}hi}, 4.
\item Cf. the fatwas of the Prophet Mu\textasciitilde{h}ammad in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzi\textasciiacute{\i}y, \textit{I\textasciitilde{l}\textasciitilde{a}m al-Mu\textasciitilde{w}aqq\textasciitilde{i}’\textasciitilde{i}n ‘an Rabb al-\textasciitilde{A}lam\textasciitilde{n}}, ed. Mu\textasciitilde{h}ammad ‘Abd al-Sal\textasciitilde{i}m al-Zu’\textasciitilde{b}i (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.
\item \textit{From the Treasures of Ibnul Qayyim: A Chapter on The Dispraise of al-Hawaa (Desire):}
\end{thebibliography}
Ibn al-Qayyim is to assemble information on a certain topic from his various books—in this case, for instance, on the love for God—and to present it in a newly arranged shape while still naming the late medieval scholar as author of the new booklet, thus contributing even more to the widespread confusion about his œuvre. \( ^{207} \)

One might also expect to find under the topic of love Ibn al-Qayyim’s “Reports on Women,” *Akhbār al-Nisā’,* that is often attributed to him. \( ^{208} \) Hämen-Anttila\( ^{209} \) perceives this work as an “*adab*-monograph,” so that it would not fit into our category of Sufi moral theology, \( ^{210} \) but he deliberately leaves the question of its authorship aside. For reasons that space does not permit us to present here, this work cannot be regarded as a product of Ibn al-Qayyim. \( ^{211} \) As a matter of irony, though, this is one of the very few works of Ibn al-Qayyim which has been translated into a Western language by a non-Muslim scholar of Islamic sciences. \( ^{212} \)

In *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-ʿIlm wa-al-Irādah* (The Key to the abode of happiness and proclamation to generate knowledge and will power) Ibn al-Qayyim, who is labeled “the very learned encyclopedic” (*al-ʿallāmah al-mawsūʾi*) takes his readers once again on a journey of self-realization. \( ^{213} \) He guides them through the panoramic landscapes of his religious-spiritual outlook and worldview. God has arranged everything in the best of all manners. Man is

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\( ^{207} \) Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Mahabbat Allāh ‘Azza wa-Jalla,* ed. Yūsuf ʿAli Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1421/2000), 15, where he mentions an earlier work of his from the same fabrication, namely *Asmāʾ Allāh al-Husnā* as attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim, ed. Yūsuf ʿAli Budaywī and Ayman ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Damascus and Beirut, 1418/1997), and threatens to be already preparing another one.


\( ^{213} \) *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-ʿIlm wa-al-Irādah*, 1:5. Leaving aside other recent editions, there remain to be mentioned an early one from Cairo in 1323–25/1905–7 and an
created with a natural inclination toward paradise and a quest for the religious knowledge (‘ilm) necessary to get there. Against this background, it is up to every Muslim to consciously remedy the deficiencies of his soul (amrād al-qalb). In a somewhat patchwork-like manner, Ibn al-Qayyim also includes musings on phenomena of the physical and animated world, detecting all sorts of hidden wisdoms behind them, and underlines the necessity of the shari‘ah while castigating astrology (‘ilm al-nujūm) and other pseudo-sciences.214

Ṭariq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa‘ādatayn (Path of the two migrations and gate to the two happinesses) is even more varied. The Syrian legal scholar al-Zuhaylī identifies four central topics as this book’s core issues: first, “the treasures of faith and their meanings,” i.e., the basic tenets of faith, including ones disputed by other groups, who have a different approach to good and evil; second, “exposition of the ways of moderate Sufism (al-tasawwuf al-mu’tadil) in accordance with Quran and sunnah;” third, reflections on good and evil; and fourth, a clarification of terms.215 Again, we find Muḥībb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb as one of the early editors of this work.216 The title of the book is understood as referring to the migration to God by complying with his will, and to his prophet Muhammad by following the Prophet’s normative example.217 With its reference to the abode of happiness and allusion to the metaphor of door and key, the title recalls the above-mentioned Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa‘ādah.

Ibn al-Qayyim’s Al-Fawa‘id (The Benefits) is the most patchwork-like of the writings in this section—if not in his entire œuvre. Its very general title refers the reader to Quran, sunnah, and early Islamic testimonies which provide him with a broad range of information. It fits less neatly than the above-mentioned monographs under the rubric of moral theology, since it contains elements of virtually every aspect of the author’s broad literary production. One editor says that this book is equally relevant for hadith scholars, Quran interpreters, grammarians, rhetoricians, Sufis, theologians, experts of practical jurisprudence and of its methodology, or

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poets, and that it attracts beginners as well as teachers.\textsuperscript{218} Under a newly created title \textit{Fawa'id al-Fawa'id} (Benefits of the benefits) an adept has reshaped and rearranged the contents of the authentic \textit{Al-Fawa'id}, presented according to the useful lessons of the various religious branches. As this editor informs us, in the original presentation "it is difficult to pick the fruit from the tree of its benefits."\textsuperscript{219} Uncertainty about the identity of \textit{Al-Fawa'id} does not stop here. On the one hand, it should not be confused with \textit{Badā'ī al-Fawa'id},\textsuperscript{220} although this does not mean that the two exhibit no overlap in content. On the other hand, there is also no connection between Ibn al-Qayyim’s \textit{Al-Fawa'id} and the wrongly attributed \textit{Al-Fawa'id al-Mushawwiq ilā ‘Ulm al-Qur’ān wa-‘Ilm al-Bayān}, also mentioned in section four.

On balance, while perusing Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings on moral theology, the reader is struck by the repetition of familiar sub-topics. On the one hand, one recognizes specific emphases or angles of an explorative scientific character that call for a complete assembly of the relevant holy sources. Whereas \textit{Madārij al-Sālikīn} takes the form of a commentary on the spiritual journey of the Sufi, and most dearly recommends repentance (tawbah), \textit{Ighāthat al-Lahfān} concentrates on the diverse aspects of sin and its manifold pitfalls in the cosmos of human life. At least two works explore specific Sufi attitudes or, originally, stations of the mystic path, such as love in \textit{Rawḍat al-Muḥabbīn}, or patience in \textit{‘Uddat al-Ṣābirīn}. On the other hand, the majority of their respective elements reappear in multiple combinations and modified variations. More or less general religious outlooks organizing one’s smooth transit from this world to the next are found in \textit{Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn}, \textit{Al-Dā’ wa-al-Dawā’}, and \textit{Miṣfāḥ Dār al-Sa’ādah}. They, as well as \textit{Al-Fawa'id}, do not even seem to need a specific marker. Their repeated composition seems to bear some sort of ritualistic character, so that one might even think of writing as a devout practice. Many readers perceive this similarly. One editor confesses in his preliminary remarks:

\begin{quote}
It became evident to me by hearing, witnessing, and personal experience that the books of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and this book [i.e., \textit{Al-Fawa'id}] and the like in particular soothe the spirit while reading them, open the breast while studying them, and while reciting them delight the heart that turns to God in joy and longing.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{218}\textit{Al-Fawa'id}, ed. Abū Khālid al-Husayn Ayt Sa‘īd (Beirut, 1993), 7–8.


\textsuperscript{220}\textit{Al-Fawa‘id} (Miṣr, 1344/1925–26), 2. \textit{Badā‘ī al-Fawa‘id} is dealt with above in the fourth rubric on Quranic sciences.
So if the reader is in a state of distress God dispels it with the blessing of sincere devotion” *(adhhabahu Allaahu bi-barakat ikhlas)*.  

In this sphere of religious ethics, Ibn al-Qayyim’s criticism of deviating Muslims and People of the Book, which is familiar from his quite polemical inter- and intra-communal theological writings, vanishes—though not completely, as can be seen in the most striking exception *Ighāhat al-Lahfān*. In this sense, Muslim and Western Islamic studies are correct to frequently state that the Hanbali scholar is "more a preacher than a polemist"—undoubtedly in contrast to his famous teacher Ibn Taymiyyah.  

What is more, this highest degree of genre-hybridization in the rubric of moral theology in all of Ibn al-Qayyim’s works has consequences for the scientific assessment of such sources and for future analytical studies of his other writings. Since theology, Quran commentary, and legal doctrines are variously interwoven, any diligent analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim would also have to take into account about half a dozen such Sufi tracts on internalizing correct behavior. This is especially true of *Ighāhat al-Lahfān*. A consideration merely of his obvious legal writings dealt with above under the rubric of *furū‘* or *uşūl al-fiqh* would be too shortsighted and would unduly blur a correct appreciation of his role in Islamic jurisprudence. With good reason, it can be assumed that a similar situation also holds true for other fields.  

(9) **ENACTING THE PROPHET’S ORIENTATIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE**  
Their devotion to early Islamic sources inspired the traditionalists in general and the Hanbalis in particular to deduce from them normative religious examples even for spheres one might regard as everyday and, to a certain degree, secular. This retrospective commitment and expanded normativity seeks to pervade society in a variety of ways. The proclaimed hegemony of so-called early Islamic practices left no stone of the corpus of this tradition unturned in a renewed quest to find models for orientation. It is best described by a fictitious book title ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim: *Fiqh al-Sīrah* (The Comprehension of the prophetic conduct).  

We need not discuss here the specific historical reasons why the range of meaningful religious action was once again considerably broadened under the Mamluks and fused with exemplary procedures from the golden age of Islam. In the case of Ibn al-Qayyim, this trend expresses itself notably in the pious regulation of daily life.  

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speech habits, in the field of medicine including occult practices, and further in a discussion of sports, contests, and pedagogical doctrines. The treatment of such areas as God-willed applications of meaningful Prophetic behavior is, to a certain degree, connected to the related fields of Quran commentary, the science of hadith, of jurisprudence, and of moral psychology. Nevertheless, none of these can be considered as clearly dominating our author’s scientific approach here—apart from perhaps hadith. In this article, however, part five on hadith discusses only his contributions to either the corpus or to the status of hadith within the hierarchy of the normative sources, but not writings that simply make excessive use of hadith, because this would create an overly broad, and thus not instructive, category. Therefore, a separate section seemed necessary, in order to explore this dimension of Ibn al-Qayyim’s literary activities.

With Jalā’ al-Afḥām fī al-Ṣalāh wa-al-Salām ‘alā Khayr al-Anām’,224 (Clarification of understandings concerning the prayer and invoking blessings on the best of mankind) Ibn al-Qayyim reserved a complete study solely for the bliss, background, and correct manner of the taṣliyah, the invocation of blessings on Muḥammad before and after ritual prayer.225 This is, of course, nothing one would imagine the Prophet himself imposing on his followers. Nevertheless, such rituals became part of the Prophetic sunnah insofar as hadith put relevant recommendations into the mouth of Muhammad himself, as well as the mouths of his companions and later generations. Ibn al-Qayyim displays the relevant source material concerning this topic with unprecedented diligence and explores its applicability to various situations in daily life.

Another, even slimmer treatise, Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib (The Heavy shower of good utterances), deals, more generally, with all sorts of invocation (dhikr) and supplication (du’ā’). It is much less specific than Jalā’ al-Afḥām in that it offers divinely sanctioned elements of speech for a broad variety of social contexts. Its promoters compare the blissful effect of such expressions to the “heavy shower” that revives waste land, causing a stimulation of the hearts and opening the breasts.226 The tract takes up and complements a work by Ibn Taymiyyah with the title Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib.227 It seems that Ibn

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227 See especially the edition Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah, Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir
al-Qayyim’s expanded version became the more popular one. Its publication history is characterized by several important features, common to widely accepted religious tracts in Arabic today. Its famous Salafi editor,228 multiple editions, circulation on the Indian book market,229 and even presentation in a complete English translation,230 all leave no doubt of its extraordinary popularity.

The most voluminous and famous of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings in this section of reenactment of the Prophetic sīrah, however, is his Zād al-Ma‘ād ‘alā Hadī Khayr al-‘Ibād (Provision for the life to come with the teachings of the best of God’s servants). Once again, the Indian subcontinent is important for some editions.231 Zād al-Ma‘ād is one of Ibn al-Qayyim’s thickest extant monographs. As one editor remarks, this compendium comprehensively exposes all aspects of the Prophet’s behavior in “the most minute details of his life” and in a hitherto unprecedented fashion (bi-shakl wa-uslūb lam yasbiqhu ilayhi ahad).232 Another one adds that this even includes aspects such as Muḥammad’s favorite colors and exactly how he used to drink, pointing out that hardly anybody else’s life was ever so minutely recorded.233 Some scholars perceive this work as being one of Hanbali jurisprudence (al-fiqh al-ḥanbalî).234 Muranyi sees it as a collection of Ibn al-Qayyim’s legal doctrines, following Ibn Taymiyyah in his strictness concerning ritual questions, but displaying leniency in matters of mutual legal relations.235


231 Most editions comprise four or five volumes, such as Zâd al-Ma‘âd ‘alâ Hady Khayr al-‘Ibâd, ed. Ṭâhâ ‘Abd al-Ra‘ûf Ṭâhâ (Cairo, 1390/1970), or the edition by Shu‘ayb al-Arna‘ût and ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Arna‘ût (Kuwait and Beirut, 1979). There are very early editions from Kanpur/Kânîfûr (?) in India from 1298/1880–81 or Cairo 1324/1906–7 as well as 1347/1928–29, which was translated in 1962 by Ra‘îs Ahmad Ja‘farî into Urdu and published in Lahore; Ahsan, ‘Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah,” 246; Abû Zayd, ‘Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, 260.


is, however, different as well in its impetus and range of topics, since it frequently transcends the familiar furū‘ al-fiqh pattern. Zād al-Ma‘ād is definitely not the compendium of practical jurisprudence which is otherwise missing in Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre. Instead, it is a genuine “mixture containing the biography and what branches out from it, like jurisprudence, good manners (ādāb), and Prophetic instructions.”

Abū Zayd speaks of “this amazing encyclopedia of various sciences such as sīrah, jurisprudence, profession of the unity of God, theology, the subtleties in tafsīr, hadith, language, grammar, etc.”

Many scholars condensed this package of wisdom into a convenient short version; Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) is the most prominent of these. The most highly cherished part of Zād al-Ma‘ād, the section in its last quarter on Prophetic medicine (al-ṭibb al-nabawī, ṭibb al-nabī), came to be appreciated as a sort of separate book. Many people are familiar with this section, but have no clue that it was originally only a cluster of topics pertaining to a larger compendium. In recent decades it has perhaps become the most popular publication on Islamic medicine of all—even supplanting al-Suyūtī’s (d. 1505) version. Notably, both are available in an English translation. In addition, Prophetic medicine is the one aspect of Ibn al-Qayyim’s work most intensely researched by Western scholars of Islamic sciences.


predominantly with bodily diseases. Noteworthy is the high percentage of occult practices,\textsuperscript{243} especially the evil eye\textsuperscript{244}—obviously the heritage of many Near Eastern sources, which Ibn al-Qayyim often does not quote by name and title. This is part of a general problem: in his eagerness to present the authentic early Islamic picture, he often fails to mention his more recent scholarly sources.

A topic very dear to the heart of the Mamluk aristocracy must have been Ibn al-Qayyim’s monograph \textit{Al-Furūṣīyah} (Horsemanship),\textsuperscript{245} which assembles traditions on various sports, especially riding and different contests (\textit{sibāq, musābaqa}ah). They are related to the military tradition of Islam, but also include mere leisure activities. Noteworthy are the introductory remarks of one apparently Saudi Arabian edition published around 1970. The editor suggests that Islamic sport clubs replace their official self-designation as places for “physical education” (\textit{riyādah badaniyah}) with “Islamic furūṣīyah,” in keeping with correct historical precedent, since the Europeans, in full ignorance, nowadays regard familiar types of sports as their own developments.\textsuperscript{246}

A last concern is the raising of children and the treatment of infants in various stages of their development. \textit{Tuhfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawluḍ} (A Present for the beloved on the rules concerning the treatment of infants)\textsuperscript{247} comprises legal rulings and advice for the correct behavior of pregnant women, the treatment of their newborn infants, and the raising of children at certain stages of life. Taking this work as a starting point, a German dissertation—supervised by Annemarie Schimmel—deals with the prescriptions for small children, but leaves aside some of the aspects Ibn al-Qayyim treated.\textsuperscript{248} Giladi describes the book as “typically combining medical and religious elements”\textsuperscript{249} and presents it as “a remarkable instance of how Islamic writings could weave popularized medical theories into

\textsuperscript{243} Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 422–23.
\textsuperscript{246} \textit{Al-Furūṣīyah}, ed. ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭar al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut, ca. 1970), introduction, 2.
\textsuperscript{247} Translation according to Avner Giladi, \textit{Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and their Social Implications} (Leiden [and others], 1999), 43.
\textsuperscript{249} Giladi, \textit{Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses}, 63.
legal discussions.” Again, the existence of shortened versions and editions from the South Asian market are indicative of a wider distribution and interest beyond the smaller ideological community, since legal contents, interpretations of Quran and sunnah, religious ethics, and profane information are blended. A “medical appendix” (mulḥaq ʿibbī) at the end of one modern edition of the Tuhfah includes photographic material and presents scientific knowledge of exclusively Western, specifically American, provenance.

Such phenomena seem to be part of a broader trend in the modern book market in recent decades. Secular scholars, whether in medicine, psychology, pedagogy, or other fields, generate publications presenting odd mixtures of scientific manuals and quotations from the holy sources as well as relevant tracts of traditionalist authors. In the relevant bibliography, university textbooks and religious literature are, quite frequently, listed side by side—probably to show the harmony between the wisdom of the Islamic heritage and modern science.

CONCLUSION
Unlike Ibn Taymiyāh, his pupil Ibn al-Qayyīm did not spend his life fighting on several fronts. The latter’s mini-miḥnāh in prison and ensuing social criticism in giving fatwas and defending theological stances in line with his famous teacher’s fiercely debated positions elevated him in the eyes of his admirers to the ranks of heroic resistance and moral courage. Taken as a whole, however, his life was one very much spent in writing. Ibn al-Qayyīm is described as being well aware of the brevity of man’s lifetime and as therefore working incessantly—even when separated from his private hometown library. One of the main scientific desiderata remains a systematic chronology of his writings. He wrote some books, such as Zād al-Maʿād, Rawdāt al-Muḥībīn, and Badāʾiʾ al-Fawāʾid, while traveling. Certain phases and influences dominating his works have to be identified. According to Bell, “the various shifts in stress or disciplinary framework discernible in the

250Ibid., 43.
253Ibn al-Qayyīm al-Jawzīyya, 60, 222, 252, 261.
254Al-Baqāʾī, Ibn al-Qayyīm min ʿĀhārīhī al-ʿIlmīyāh, 142.
255Cf. Holtzmann (see n. 7 above).
writings of Ibn al-Qayyim correspond to fairly distinct periods in his career.”

Although he often refrained from giving an exact title, Ibn al-Qayyim, with several explicit self-references, gives many indications of the chronology of his works, which Abū Zayd diligently registered. Nevertheless, they have not yet been tied together in a convenient overview. The Hanbali is described as a bibliophile scholar and a devoted, if not compulsive, author who derives intense spiritual blessing from the procedure of pious writing as such. He must have worked as much as circumstances permitted even during his travels, thus creating for himself the air of his Damascene study. For these reasons, this article focuses on his œuvre and only to a lesser degree on his biography as important keys to his ideas about Islam. The limited path chosen for our study is first of all based on a hands-on approach to available books and booklets. The Internet proved unsuitable for a reliable initial survey, but has to come into play afterwards in a separate study.

Even their contemporaries were perplexed about the huge literary output of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. At the request of a group of such people, Ibn al-Qayyim himself compiled an inventory of his master’s works. Unfortunately, no pre-modern adept ventured a comparable service for Ibn al-Qayyim. The cause of and extent to which neo-Hanbali doctrines fell into oblivion under Ottoman supremacy still have to be explored for the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The approach to Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre chosen for this article, however, is a different one. Since the difficulties of demarcating and categorizing his works are tremendous, we chose here to approach them with regard to their reception in modern times. “Reception” is herein understood in the narrowest sense, because the history of the exact neo-Hanbali impact on important figures, such as Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Shawkānī, Mawdūdī, Śiddīq Ḥasan Khān, and the various Near Eastern Salafis like Rashīd Ridā, has yet to be written.

Nevertheless, this article shows the special role of Salafī scholars such as Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ and Muḥīb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, as well as of Salafī printing houses in Egypt and India. The Indian market and its scholars’ attachment to Arabian libraries often blazed a trail. It seemed useful, in order to gain some access and familiarity, to focus first of all on printed works by Ibn al-Qayyim, and to follow to a certain degree the ways in which Muslims have (re)discovered this author. This methodology and the reading of introductory passages inserted by his modern methodology.

259 Among the almost 4,000 hits for “Ibn Qayyim” there are of course many useful sites, such as <http://arabic.islamicweb.com/Books/taimiya.asp> (accessed Jan. 5, 2005).
261 Little information is given by al-Baqārī, Ibn al-Qayyim min Ṭḥārīḥi al-‘Ilmīyah, 145–46.
editors permit some sort of overview and provides clues for a categorization that are often missing, both from the few articles on this author in Western languages, as well as from a certain number of button-counting modern studies in Arabic. It must, however, be acknowledged that especially Saudi Arabian dissertations and academic writing have done much to enhance the level of research.

What, then, does the modern book market offer? Obviously, Ibn al-Qayyim “catered to all the branches of Islamic science.” As al-Zuhaylī sums up, the scholar’s activities “comprise religious knowledge (‘ilm), jurisprudence (fiqh), and legal development (ijtihād), and he is also the person of reference for those interested in transcendental questions (imām ahl al-rūḥ), in moderate Sufism (al-taṣawwuf al-mu’tadil), sound spiritual radiance (al-ishrāq al-naṣī al-sawī), forceful remembrance of God, and for those who are eager to fulfill his duties and recommendations.”

The problem is that such trends are often dealt with all together. His huge compendia embody an ongoing process of synthesizing the diverse elements in multiple variations and rearrangements. Genre boundaries are constantly transgressed and deliberately blurred. As a consequence, whoever researches a certain topic in Ibn al-Qayyim’s œuvre has to take a broad range of partially parallel publications into account. This is certainly important for his writings with legal relevance.

Ibn al-Qayyim is a great recycler in that any of his contributions can be expected to show up in a more or less transformed shape somewhere else in his writings. The scope of this article is not broad enough to determine the degree to which he recycles not only his own ideas but also those of previous authors. However, it is very likely that an œuvre of such vast dimensions could have been produced only by borrowing on a large scale. This is not to say that Ibn al-Qayyim lacked originality, which would be missing the point. Apart from the fact that in medieval religious sciences the concept of authorship and “copyright” was quite different from our understanding, his personal originality seems to lie elsewhere: in his extraordinary capacity to create a synthesis of floating data, his overarching aim of internalizing Islamic norms on an educational and self-referential level, and his creation of comprehensive books either in the from of compendia or of monographs on highly specific topics, about which previous scholars had written merely a passage, a chapter, or a small treatise. Further, he plays an important role in the self-emancipation of Hanbali Sufism and tradition-oriented inwardness. Although his writings have been marginalized for centuries, he produced—especially from the viewpoint of twentieth-century publications—an

263 Fāriq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Sa‘ādatayn, ed. al-Zuḥaylī and ‘Abd al-Majid, 8.
extraordinary number of standard works that are in line with many reformers’ reinvigorated interest in the early Islamic heritage.

Current editions, however, not only make Ibn al-Qayyim’s works much more accessible than in the dispersed manuscripts of previous times, and allow for helpful insights, but they also contribute greatly to the already existing obscurity and confusion. Since the voluminous compendia seem to be too overwhelming for ordinary readers, the modern book market offers them in the form of single chapters, piecemeal selections, shortened versions, and collections containing also the works of other authors. While such editors often congratulate themselves for the service they provide to religious knowledge, these truncated publications are confusing to specialists and general readers alike. Many a twentieth-century soulmate even fuses his own musings or his leftover university textbooks with quotations from Ibn al-Qayyim. There is a rising flood of publications, including many paperbacks, most of which claim Ibn al-Qayyim as their official author. One scholar, though, counts only three smaller epistles as authentic writings of Ibn al-Qayyim among these available, in the range of 50–100 pages. As a consequence, the authenticity of the contents of the shorter publications in particular, but also of several larger synthetic works, have to be thoroughly tested. At times, pious compilers dress them up with fancy titles that deliberately recall famous, authentic works of Ibn al-Qayyim; or they fall back on titles reminiscent of generally familiar topics, such as “The Beautiful Names of God” (asma’ Allāh al-ḥusnā), to give but one final example. However, as a rule of thumb, these and other publications cannot be discarded, since many shorter fatwas and epistles in particular may still be uncovered and prepared for publication. Dissertations and similar studies from Arab countries play a pioneering role in this field. For Western readers it is not very easy to gain access. There may be various reasons for this: Ibn al-Qayyim’s Arabic is of medium difficulty and he uses a highly technical language. Nor do his extremely frequent quotations from the Quran and sunnah make for easy reading. Only a few translations into Western languages are apparently available, and these are basically addressed to pious Muslims. Ironically, Bellmann picked the wrong author. It seems at any rate that a certain mood of devoted piety is a sort of precondition to fully appreciate the bulk of Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings. Ardent readers often seek a profound elevation of spirit. Religiosity sells and Ibn al-Qayyim’s presentations in particular obviously help Muslims feel good about themselves and proud of their religion. The gap in taste between Muslim and non-Muslim readers may also explain the lack of studies by Western scholars of

264 Yusrī al-Sayyid Muḥammad in Badā’ i’ al-Tafsīr, 62.
265 Ed. Budaywī and al-Shawwā. This appears even in a series called ‘Publications (mu’allafāt) of Ibn al-Qayyim.”

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Islamic sciences. The comparably small number of decent studies on Ibn al-Qayyim and possibly even other religious "polymaths" might also have to do with the fact that modern Western scholars are not sufficiently equipped or are too one-sided in their approach—while great medieval scholars, as a rule, were not.